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SPEECH ACCOMPANYING DRAFT REVISION OF THE PROGRAM  
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDONESIA

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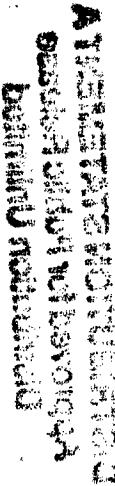
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SPEECH ACCOMPANYING DRAFT REVISION OF THE PROGRAM  
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDONESIA

Following is the translation of a speech,  
selected from a pamphlet published by the  
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pages 5-337

Honored congress, dear comrades. In the long history of the PKI [Communist Party of Indonesia], which is now almost 40 years old, this congress is the largest one.

This congress gets the attention from the comrades, but also from the enemies within this country; this congress gets the interest from the comrades, but also from the enemies from abroad. This congress is the lighthouse of the fighting class of Indonesia, from which the glowing beams will be transmitted, illuminating the way of the fighting proletariat and the people of Indonesia. As for me, a great honor has been given to me, the confidential task of introducing the REVISION OF THE PROGRAM OF THIS PARTY. I use this opportunity to extend my boundless thanks to this congress, so large, and to our great Party!

Comrades, when we divide the history of modern Indonesia into two periods: the period before the August revolution and the period thereafter, it becomes clear that of the six congresses of our Party, three took place in the first period and three in the second. Each of these congresses represent a monument of the past, the present, and the future of the Party.

Of the five congresses in the past, the recent Fifth Congress produced a program which gives an answer to all the fundamental and important problems of the Indonesian revolution in a correct and complete manner.

The first congress took place in Semarang in December 1921, the second congress in Djakarta, February 1924, the third congress, in Kotagede in December 1924, and the fourth congress, in Solo in January 1947. For various

reasons and due to historical limitations, these congresses did not have a chance to organize a complete party-program. The programs established at that time were incomplete and only contained some specific problems, or they were not free from mistakes "left" as well as right.

Suppose that our fifth party congress had been organized in September 1948, undoubtedly the fundamental thinking as inserted in the Resolution of the National Conference, August 1948, "The New Way for the Indonesian Republic" would have become the foundation for our Party Program. But we got a chance to organize the fifth congress more recently.

As a result of the Fifth National Congress, the party formulated a complete and effective program; this Fifth National Congress meant a leap ahead, a very important one in the history of the PKI.

Comrade Aidit said that this congress "leads the PKI and the revolutionary movement in our country tens of years ahead".

As pointed out in the General Report: "The Fifth National Party Congress gave an answer to all the basic important problems of the Indonesian Revolution. This congress put down the basic character of the tasks of the Party, which are better laid out in the United National Front, and gave an answer to every basic problem with regard to the development of the Party. The progress after this congress showed that all this was true." The history of the last five years confirms this whole conclusion, also confirmed by the statement of Comrade Aidit that the Fifth Congress "carries the PKI and the revolutionary movement in our country tens of years ahead". The process which in a non-revolutionary situation would consume a period of decades, in a revolutionary situation in our country terminates over a period of years only. Over these 14 years the struggle for the liberation of our people went clearly along the dialectic law; offensive became defensive, defensive became offensive, and so forth. In the days of the August revolution, 1945-1948, the struggle of the people was offensive and the governments which held power at that time were governments of the United National Front. Between 1948 and 1952 the offensive turned to defensive and the governments which were in power during that period were headed by the Masjumi-PSI /Masjumi, the Moslem Party, the PSI, the Socialist Party of Indonesia/ with Hatta as their leader. With the beginning of year 1952, with the accent of our Fifth Party Congress, the struggle of our people became offensive again, and, with a short interruption of the cabinet of the clown Burhanuddin Harahap only, the govern-

ments were again in the hands of the Nationalistic group, which cooperated with the democratic Moslem group and had the support of the Communist Party.

Thus for a period of seven years, and particularly the last five years, the leading group in those days kept us isolated, and stood open on the other hand for relations with foreign, imperialistic groups. Suppose we had not had an effective program, the program of the March 1954 Congress, then it would not have been possible to improve this home country of ours fast enough, because without an effective program the struggle for the ideals of the proletariat is like a struggle with bare hands, like a struggle without a weapon.

Thanks to this effective program, which has been formed with strategic and sharp tactical weapons, followed by a glittering execution under the management of our Central Committee, our home country now is in its present situation, having passed in effect various painful obstacles. But this progress did not go to the right, on the contrary it went to the left and the domination no longer was in the hands of the imperialistic group, the group of the landowners and their friends, but in the hands of the Nationalistic group, the class of the have-nots, the class of the farmers and the workers. In spite of the progress of our country so far, we no doubt will meet great obstacles, but we will meet these problems with exciting protest of each Indonesian Communist, each progressive Indonesian, and each progressive person in the whole world.

## 2.

Our General Report states: "Based on experiences which we faced in the past, we may conclude that from the beginning the political line and the organizational line which have been set by the Fifth National Congress are still valid, so that basically there is also a line to follow for the Sixth National Congress. It is certain, however, that we have to organize changes here and there; those parts which are already out-dated ought to be ignored, those parts which are deficient we have to give our increased attention, while those which are less effective have to be made more effective."

Based on the appraisals in this General Report, which earlier were summarized in the "Draft-Thesis", this congress is not offered a proposal or draft for a new program, but on the contrary a draft for the revision of the above Party Program, which was ratified by the Fifth Nat-

ional Congress.

As the comrades know, this Draft revision has already been formed by the Seventh Plenary session of the Central Committee, and together with the "Draft-Thesis" and the "Draft Revision of the Constitution" it has been handed out to the whole Party, but also to the patriotic people outside the Party. This Draft Revision of the Program has been dealt with in thousands of discussions throughout the country, and as summit of the democratic wholesale studies of the Conferences of the Big Territories and the Islands Conferences, and has been handed over to the Central Committee with a total of about one hundred amendments.

I can here inform the Congress that among these more or less 100 amendments there is not a single one which has the character to come up to the Draft Revision of the Program, there is not a single one which is qualified according to our principles. All of these amendments have to be perfected. Thus we can say that the Draft Revision of the Program basically has been unanimously approved by the entire Party. This is a demonstration of the firmness of the Party in ideology and politics. Such a brilliant firmness has to promote, build, develop and brighten us, so that we to the end will overwhelm our Party forever with out ideological, political and moral firmness.

Although among these approximately 100 amendments there is not a single one which comes up to our principles these amendments are of a high quality and proof of the high resources of criticism in our Party. Among these approximately 100 amendments there are big and objective parts next to small and subjective, less necessary and less effective parts. There are also amendments which look completely or nearly completely like other ones. The objective and necessary ones generally have been approved by the Eighth Plenary Session of the Central Committee, to be taken up in the Draft Revision of the Program. If the comrades compare the Draft Revision of the Program which has been issued to the comrades as a result of the Eighth Plenary Session of the Central Committee with the Draft Revision of the Program which resulted from the seventh plenary session, they will see the difference therein, which is the result of the amendments received which I mentioned earlier.

The firmness of the Party in the reception of the Draft Revision of the Program is reflected in the appraisal which was given by the Conferences of the Big Territories and the Conferences of the Islands, and also by the results of the discussion in the local centers of the

Party, there are those who say that the Draft supplied the opportunity to answer "the problems which face our People", there are those who say that the Draft implies exclusively "the truth and therefore hurts", there are others who praise it as: "an analysis in a compact and objective way" and therefore with this Draft our Party "will be able to organize and mobilize the People's struggle in a better way, to fulfill the claims of the August 1945 revolution to the fullest extent", and there are even those who think that without Draft we will be able to attract the mass of the people better to the Party. Successively I explained the intentions and the additions which mean improvements of this Draft, as compared to the Program of the Fifth National Congress.

First of all I will make clear with facts what the Fifth Congress Program actually stood for.

### 3.

From what facts can we see what the Program of this Fifth Congress stood for?

The clear facts have been shown in the Draft Revision of the Program, as a result of the seventh plenary session of the Central Committee, in the recent Draft Thesis, and in the General Report by Comrade Aidit.

The fact which undoubtedly becomes clear first is the conclusion that Indonesia of today is not yet enjoying complete freedom, but is still half-feudal. Second, that among the most important enemies of ours certainly is the Imperialism of the Dutch. Third, that Indonesia is still in the grip of an economic crisis. Fourth, that the unemployment, the poverty, the economic and social vacuum is still prevailing. Furthermore, that it is necessary to achieve a completely free and democratic Indonesia, that the primary way to achieve this goal is the formation of national unity, next to the unification of the workers and the farmers under the leadership of the working class, that the keys to this problem are present in the reformation of the balance of power between the people on the one side, and the enemies of the people on the other side, that is in the inspiration, the mobilization, and the reorganization of the masses; that moreover the whole working class as a single unit comes to activity and trains itself, so that a great, effective power is created, so that they become the storm troops and the fighting representatives of the entire Indonesian people. We recapitulate that all these conditions are truly necessary, not

because of subjective views, but because of objective considerations which resulted from long, accurate and deep discussions. For example, with regard to the character of the present Indonesian society, as already observed, it can be said that there are three possibilities: 1. The present Indonesia is still a colony and feudal, 2. Indonesia is already completely free and democratic, 3. Indonesia is not yet completely free and still half-feudal. With regard to the second point, there are two possibilities: Is Dutch imperialism or American imperialism our most important enemy in the present period? Our conclusion is that without doubt Dutch imperialism is our first enemy. Thus each point has been observed from different angles, its objective factors have been investigated, and in the end conclusions have been drawn. These conclusions have not only been explained in the Draft Revision of the Program, but also in the General Report and the Draft Revision of the Constitution.

Because the character of our present society is definitely the same as at the time of our Fifth Congress, the character of our revolution is definitely the same, as are the ways to guide our motivations. Therefore, as with the Program of the Fifth Congress, the Draft Revision of the Program can now be divided into two fundamentals: a General Program and a Study Program. Note: This can also be translated as an Aiming Program.

Our General Program is a program for the democratic people, a program which can only be performed by a Government of the democratic people itself, while the Study Program is a program which we propose to every government which not yet has been formed by the democratic people.

#### 4.

In what respect has the Program of the Fifth Congress to be disregarded in our present time? The demand for abrogation of MMB Maksudnja Medjah Bunder -- the Plans of the Round Table, an agreement between the Netherlands and Indonesia upon the declaration of independence, made up in a Round Table Conference<sup>7</sup>, to release Indonesia from the Netherlands Indonesian Union, and to wreck the KMB Konperensi Medjah Bunder -- Round Table Conference<sup>7</sup>, are obviously not necessary any longer. The demand for cancellation of the embargo on trade with China, to end the war with Japan, to wreck the MSA - agreement MSA may stand for Maksudnja Setolong America -- American Aid Program, it may also mean Mutual Security Act, as Indon-

esia very often take over foreign abbreviations and expressions<sup>7</sup>, and for free, general elections for a constitution, these claims belong to the past.

But even if there are demands in the Program of the Fifth Congress which are past history, these demands do not have to be regretted in the least, but on the contrary, they do deserve our enthusiasm. These points became history because our struggle was a victorious one and yielded results. This is the very demonstration of the effectiveness of the Program of our Fifth Congress. The victories so achieved will now be nailed down in our Draft Revision of the Program. But there are still goals of the Fifth Congress which, though already achieved, really disappoint us in the long run. In fact, much of what we have experienced as unpleasant has been wiped out and has been replaced by other things, equally or nearly as unpleasant. For example, the laws which prohibit striking, which are known as the "Tedjasukmana laws"<sup>7</sup>/Tedjasukmana may be the name of the initiator of these laws<sup>7</sup>-- it is true that these laws have been abolished. However, has the right to strike already been restored to the workers? Is this right in effect not limited, and as a matter of fact is it not completely forbidden to strike? Another example: the traitors, the reactionaries, the madmen, the corrupt people and the fascists who challenge our UUD /Undjuk Untuk Daerah-daera -- Plans for the Territories<sup>7</sup>, have to be arrested and to be sentenced.

The bribers Sosrodanukusomo and Suprapto have been arrested, but has the Grand Prosecutor in particular and the office of Counsel for the prosecution in general been cleaned of dirty elements? Judge Sjarif and Judge Lim Wan-to have been fired, but is the juridical apparatus clean? Sjafrudin has been arrested, but is the economic and financial organization of the government in particular, and the civil service in general, already clean? Zulkifli Lubis, Ahmad Husein, Simbolon, Sumual, and now many others have been arrested, but are our military forces clean? Sumitro and Tan Goan-po have been arrested, but is our university society clean?

Another example: There exists an ordinance which prohibits the annexation of the original farm lots of the farming group, there is an ordinance which fixes the situation as a standfast. But does the annexation of the farmers lots not start all over again? Does the group of the plantation owners obey this ordinance and do the state-enterprises do it?

There is another example: According to Law Nr. 1,1958, private real estate will be taken over by the Gov-

ernment. But this law, besides containing a few less nice articles, has not been followed up really seriously with regard to the good articles contained therein.

I want to conclude these examples with the question of the suppression and extermination of the DI-movement /Darul Islam, Moslem Movement, fighting the present government<sup>7</sup> and other terrorist movements. With regard to the DI and other terrorist movements, since our Fifth Congress, five years ago, much indeed has been achieved. The Darul Islam, which in the beginning has been favoured by the governments of Hatta, Natsir, and Sukiman, and later on by BH, Burhanudin Harahap, another Indonesian Premier<sup>7</sup>, has clearly been recognized as the state's enemy, which has to be exterminated.

There is also the one named PRRI-Pemesta /PRRI -- Partai Rakjat Republik Indonesia, the People's Party of the Indonesian Republic, and the Pemesta, another small party<sup>7</sup> whose initial struggle has been broken, thanks to the cooperation between the Army and People. But there are other organizations like the OKDD, possibly the Organisasi Kedaulatan Daerah Daerah, The Organization for the Welfare of the Territories<sup>7</sup>, the OKNN Organisation for the Welfare of the States<sup>7</sup>, or the OPR, not explained in source<sup>7</sup>, which have to be grasped or limited, since the farmers have not yet received the right to take up the arms against the DI-TII /Darul Islam-Tentara Islam Indonesia -- Moslem Movement-Islam Army of Indonesia/<sup>7</sup> PRRI-Permesta, or against other terrorist movements.

And what is more, there is still the thinking, unrealistic as it is, of increasing the TNI-troops, /TNI-Tentara National Indonesia, the Indonesian National Army<sup>7</sup>, which will call for long preparations and great cost, while mobilizing of the People's forces is evidently very possible and economical. Proof therefore may lie in the fact that in West Java, in Sumatra, and even in Celebes, the counter-revolutionary groups still possess a power which cannot be neglected as such, and in the fact that the infiltrators have not yet been seized and killed. Where the mobilization of the People's forces and the mutual cooperation between the Army and the people is emphasized, the terrorist movement will feel itself not like a fish in the water but as a fish in the frying pan. What has been mentioned in these examples will take place on the one hand because the party in power has to take action as a result of the pressure of the people. On the other hand, they /the party in power<sup>7</sup> are not inclined to pay any attention to the claims of

the people, and will therefore try to defend the past or try to bring back the past in a new form. Based on these experiences and facts, new formulations will now be proposed in the Draft, and these will formulate the opinion and the desire of the People to the greatest extent, such as the right to strike, the right of the farmers to defend their own soil, nationalization of private-real estate, the extermination of the terrorist movement rebellions, and other questions which may arise.

Furthermore, in which respects will our Party Program improve? For five years many great events have occurred, events in the life of the Party and also in the life of the Indonesian People.

The imperialism of the U.S. was more and more pushing aside Dutch imperialism, and more and more exposed the economical, political and cultural position of Indonesia. This shows America as it is, since they conspire with the Dutch in NATO, and conspire moreover in a cooperative colonization of Western New Guinea in accordance with the aggressive SEATO pact. Most impolite was the intervention of the imperialistic Americans at the time when we smashed the counter-revolutionary movement of the PRRI-Permesta. One after another, their warships threatened us and entered our waters by doing do trespassing our territorial waters, and on top of that they were so indecent as to "inform" our Government that they would bring ashore troops in Pakanbaru. There is a strong determination in the Indonesian People to oppose such deadly actions which urges the government to repel these crazy invasions.

In accordance with these facts, we stated in our Draft Revision of the Program that the Dutch imperialism has to be regarded as the most important enemy of the Indonesian people, and that the present American imperialism has to be considered as a very dangerous enemy of the Indonesian People. Considering this conclusion, we formulate a new statement, which goes as follows: The actions of the US together with the actions of the Netherlands, like the subsequent arming of the counter-revolutionary troops by the US, or the assistance to the Dutch in arming them in their aggression against the Republic of Indonesia has herewith been recognized. As to Dutch imperialism, we hope that our struggle has been a step forward for the Indonesian People at the moment, a struggle guided by the working class, which practically took over all Dutch industries. With regard to this, our goals right now are: the mobilization of the total national strength as well as the coordination thereof in order to achieve

greater economical freedom, i.e. the nationalization of all Dutch enterprises and mixed enterprises in which the Dutch have interests, such as the BPM /Gataafse Petroleum Maatschappy, a holding company of Royal Dutch-Shell/. We also demand that the former Dutch possessions become government enterprises and that these government enterprises do not become privately owned and managed again.

Concerning the struggle of our farmers, our Party summarizes the experiences and formulates the tasks along which our Party will direct the National Farmers Conference for the first time in history. In connection here-with, we will enter in the Draft Revision of the Program, that is, in the Work Program, important conclusions of this Farmers Conference, first: to improve the situation of the farmers by forcing the landowners to rent all their soil, and moreover that the farmers which rent this soil receive a minimum of 60% and the landowners a maximum of 40% of the harvest; second, to come to a limitation of the land held by the landowners; the purchase of surplus lands of these landowners will take place according to instructions and at a price set by the government, and these soils to be distributed to farmers who do not already possess land, or very poor farmers; third, to come to the seizure of land and other property of landowners who took part in the conspiring counter-revolutionary movement and other terroristic rebellions, and to divide these estates among farmers not yet possessing land, or to poor farmers.

As for the struggle for a democratic constitution, the development thereof has already been shaped so that we now can go back to our Plan for the Territories, 1945. Concerning this we make the following statement: The execution of the UUD /Plans for the Territories/ 1945 is in accordance with the spirit, the enthusiasm and the character of the August 1945 revolution, which is anti-imperialistic and democratic. As for the structure of the government, President Sukarno has constructed a Draft, which is known as the Presidential Draft. This Draft, as is known, basically shows the formation of a solidarity government, that is, a national coalition government. In accordance with this is our entire Work Program which we set up so that it can be executed by every government which wants the support of the people when the government wants to risk the way of national liberty, democracy and progress for Indonesia; but clearly we state once again that our outstanding Work Program can also be executed by a coalition government. And in connection with the fourth plenary session of the Central Committee, which perhaps may turn out to have been the most important full

session of the Central Committee in all history of the Congress from the past up till now, formulated the slogan: "The settlement of the goals of the August 1945 Revolution up to the very limit". In the Draft Revision of the Program we also formulate the opinion that a government by the Democratic People has to fulfill the goals of the August 1945 Revolution up to the very limit. In this way important additions will be entered into the Draft Revision of the Program. These supplements do not decrease in the least the correctness of the Program of the Fifth Congress, and these supplements became necessary because of the development of the situation, because of the new situations.

6

Now, in what respects was the Program of the Fifth Congress not precise enough, so that we have to make it more precise? I had better inform you quickly about the shortcomings of the development of the general situation. As the comrades know, it is a fact that what is good for a certain period, is not good enough for another period. In the General Program now we see, for instance, that we had in the beginning the obligation for both boys and girls to attend school up to the age of 12; now we change this up to the age of 13; in the beginning, we wanted our children to go to school at the age of 6, now they start at the age of 7. In our Work Program we tried to improve the fate of our laborers by putting the stress on the demands to guarantee their liberty and their conditions, to protect their interests legally. Now, besides continuing these demands, we expand this formulation to include improvement of working conditions, and social guarantees. We also try to improve the fate of our farmers in our Work Program, in the beginning to demand the prohibition of annexation of farmland, especially by "foreign" plantations. Now that we do not know such a thing as "foreign" any more, we expand these demands to prohibit annexation by all plantations, because there is proof that sometimes annexation took place by foreign plantations, sometimes also by non-foreign plantations. If at first our protection was not sure, we hope that the fate of our people is secure now, and we hope that the outcome of the National Farmers Conference will be a historic one, where our own interests will be settled to give hope to the fishermen and the cooperative minded people.

In this same Work Program we pronounced at first

with regard to West New Guinea that we would keep West New Guinea as part of the Indonesian Republic. Now that we have experienced the result of the development of the movement to liberate West New Guinea, our goals have to be formulated as follows: To intensify the struggle for the liberation of West New Guinea with the organization of the intrinsic power of the country, by stacking up the total national potential, and by modernizing the Army, Navy and Air Force by attracting the international solidarity, by using every possibility. In this way, comrades, we showed with several examples how we can make our Program more precise.

These completions are very important, because we Communists believe that the Party Program has to be a representation of the objective interests of the mass of the people, based on the definite thinking and feeling of the mass of the people concerning definite facts at all times.

## 7

Comrades, what experiences as shown to us over the last five years promoted the Program of the Fifth Congress? Basically there are two kinds of experiences: effective and non-effective ones. The effective ones can be described by two characteristics; first the understanding of the Program with relation to daily life; secondly the understanding of the General Program in relation to the Work Program. Whoever only knows the Program and not daily life is like the people who know what a weapon is but do not know the how to use. On the other hand, whoever only knows the daily life but does not know the Program is like the people who know how to aim but do not know the weapons. When you separate these two you cannot shoot!

The understanding of the Program and daily life means the understanding that there is an association between these two, but also that there is controversy between these two. There is an association between the Program and daily life, because the Program reflects daily life in its progressive development, and because the Program itself is born out of daily life. There is also controversy between the Program and daily life because many things which have already been taken up in the Program have not entered daily life yet, so that a change is necessary; this life has to be reorganized until it becomes similar to that which has been formulated in the Program. The understanding of the General Program in connection with the work Program means the understanding that the

Work Program is part of the General Program and therefore the struggle has to come forward out of the General Program, and on the other hand the General Program can only have success when it is carried out along the lines as stipulated in the Work Program, as explained by Comrade Aidit in the Report to the Fourth Plenary session of the Central Committee: "The General Program and the Work Program are different from each other, but they are connected, and not separated."

Further, Comrade Aidit said: "With the General Program the PKI will promote that which will be our goal, whether our struggle will be for the total national and democratic revolution, or whether the next stop will be the revolution of the democratic class.

The essentials of this General Program will not differ from the goals of the August 1945 revolution in their national and democratic character, which have not yet been fully materialized. Therefore the General Program has to become the Program of the Communist Party of Indonesia as long as the Peoples Democracy has not yet the authority. The General Program of the PKI is a program which has to be propagated perpetually by the Communists and their sympathizers until the goals of the August 1945 Revolution are fully realized. The General Program of the PKI is an unlimited program and a program with the highest possible cooperative character, a program which promotes the cooperation between the PKI and all other parties, with all groups and democratic, patriotic people who want to achieve the goals of the August Revolution."

"But the PKI will not only make propaganda for its unlimited program. The PKI will also point out the ways to analyze the concrete questions of the present. Besides propagating the General Program of the PKI, it will unite the people behind one concrete policy of aims and economy, and will put forward a platform for the cooperation with all parties, with all groups and with all people who are democratic and patriotic." So far Comrade Aidit's explanation.

There are two kinds of incorrect experiences: first, those which do not look different and therefore cause a mixing up of the General Program and the Work Program; and second, those which do not look identical and therefore more or less separate the General and the Work Program. The first mistake we can make is not to put the stress on the General Program and then strive for the Work Program, so that therefore our front is restricted, while in the second case we stop with the General Program and do

not continue to work for the goals of the Work Program.

Cases which look more or less like these are already found in our Party, if not nationally, then locally, if not for long, then for a short time. But exactly these cases, locally and for a short time, made our Party more mature and more adult in understanding, utilizing and promoting our Party Program. Experiences from the past prevent us from making the same mistakes in the future, and make us start studying. This is very important for the development of our Party in the future.

## 8

What, in fact, is the relation, theoretical and practical, between the General Program and the Work Program? This relationship is in fact a relation between revolution and reform; as explained by Comrade Lenin, this can be exactly defined only by Marxism.

To characterize this problem in a correct way, it is very appropriate that we study the letters and speeches of Comrade Lenin with regard to the Socialist October Revolution, which were composed principally between the years 1918 and 1922.

In one of these writings, Comrade Lenin explains that the level of our revolution and the phase of another revolution "cannot be separated by a Chinese Wall." Thus we draw here the conclusion that between a General Program and a Work Program, all for one phase of the revolution, there certainly is not a "Chinese Wall" which separates them. I'll give you a concrete example. In the Program which has not yet been changed, that is the Program of the Fifth Congress, we demanded, in the Work Program and in the General Program, the separation of Indonesia from the Indonesian Dutch Union, and abrogation of the MMB. [Articles of the Round Table Conference]. This means that at that time we prepared ourselves for the possibility that these claims would be materialized in the People's Democracy. But what happened? We are still far from the People's Democracy, but the demands to abolish the "Union", to return the Round Table Agreement and to abolish that Round Table Conference have already been fulfilled, all three of them.

On the other hand, in the Draft Revision of the Program of today we take up the problem of West New Guinea in the Work Program. But this does not necessarily mean that West New Guinea will be free before we have a People's Democracy. We have to prepare ourselves for the eventuality that West New Guinea will not yet have been liberated,

once the People's Democracy has been established in other parts of Indonesia. How small the possibility of such a theory may be, the reality is not at all impossible.

That part of what has been taken up in the General Program can be achieved before we have a People's Democracy is a possibility which we probably have to accept. On the other hand part of what has been taken up in the Work Program may not yet have been achieved at the time of the establishment of the People's Democracy. This is only proof that there is no such thing as a "Chinese Wall" which separates the General Program from the Work Program.

Now, what is the relationship between the General Program and the Work Program, or between our basic claims and other demands, between revolution and reform? Comrade Lenin gives us the following definitions: "the reform is a side effect of the struggle by the revolutionary proletariat class". In connection herewith, Comrade Lenin says: "The basic character of the tactics of the revolutionary proletariat is like the ABC." The struggle of the revolutionary proletariat will gain as a side effect the various demands or reform in the long run. But without this, it is impossible that we will gain our demands, or the revolution. If we want to carry out our Work Program, then it is necessary to clear the road for our General Program. Anybody who tries to make our General Program win without a follow-up for the Work Program will therefore have no understanding at all of the clear tactics of the ABC of Marxism. They make the mistake that they go "left". On the other hand, anybody who is satisfied with the success of reform and stops with these reform successes does not continue the work for the carrying out of the General Program, and is therefore no Marxist at all. He goes "right", and in doing so makes a mistake too. It just happens that these two big mistakes are essentially not found any more in our Party.

## 9

Comrades:

Though we may draw the conclusion in this Congress that these big mistakes, to the left as well as to the right, regarding the execution of the Party Program no longer can be found in our Party, we ourselves know that such a good situation has not been achieved in a day and night's time. This great part was performed by our First Three-Year Training Plan.

Comrade Aidit says that "the unity in our Party is only possible when characterized in one idea, one ideology,

namely the idea and ideology of Marxism-Leninism". Furthermore Comrade Aidit said that "the problem of unity in the idea as laid down by the Communists is the problem of training all Party members. With our first Three-Year Training Plan we carried out: Training concerning the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, and training to maintain the class philosophy, an inspired and methodical class, which fights all wrong ideologies.

At the same time when the suggestion of our First Three-Year Training Program was issued, in the first plenary session of the Central Committee, I said that: "when this design is completed by us, we will have several thousand cadre members three years from now, who will have been trained by the Central Committee, by the Provo-cation Committees, and other committees. From the Report as composed by Comrade A. Anwar Sanusi, I think that I can say that the goals as set by us have been established well.

In the fifth plenary session of the Central Committee it was also said that: When we carry out this draft, we will separate ourselves from unnecessary debating, then we will discuss all of our problems with one original, united hallmark, in united solidarity. This will mature our Party. Thus we learned that part of our training plan which we visualized in the past and part of our training program of today are in accordance with each other.

Because we finished our First Three-Year Training Plan with good success, Comrade Aidit's "united idea", has been secured in the Party, and accidentally this made our Party, our whole Party, and the execution of the Party Program rather successfull. It basically separated the Party from serious mistakes to the "left" or to the "right". Suppose that there had been no First Three-Year Training Plan, we do not know what would have become of our Party. It is possible that it would have been bigger with regard to the total number of members but not united in one ideology. But this is in contradiction to the theory of Marx that the strength of that proletariat first of all shows itself in the total number, but the total number is not sufficient, and has to express itself as a unit. The First Three-Year Training Plan has united the Party in belief. The Second Three-Year Training Plan certainly will further strengthen the united ideology in the Party.

cerns the slogans and motto in our struggle for the establishment of our Party Program. It is a fact that the use of our Party slogans really gave us great experiences. Since the year 1950 we have had one basic slogan, which definitely found its way all over our country.

This basic slogan was: "Abolish the Round Table Conference!" With this slogan we pushed through our anti-imperialistic struggle, with this slogan we founded one united national front, with this slogan we ourselves carried out the development of our Party. Today, with the abolishment of the Round Table Conference far behind us, it becomes clearer how great a task we performed, now that the slogan "Abolish the Round Table Conference" has been fixed in the political, economic, cultural and military life of our nations.

In the Fifth National Congress of our Party we settled the basic slogan: "To achieve complete national freedom and democratic transitions", and next "The Way to the People's Democracy of Indonesia". The slogan concerning "complete freedom and democracy" already plays a very big role in the political life of our country, and with this slogan we ourselves carry out two urgent tasks, that is the foundation of a united national front and the development of the Party.

In the well known Fourth plenary session of the Central Committee, the basic slogan of the Fifth sic Congress was given a new form, more in accordance with the historic formation of our country and with claim to a more timely character. This slogan is: "The fulfillment of the goals of the August 1945 Revolution to the Limit".

These two slogans are essentially our strategic slogans. "To achieve complete national freedom and democratic transitions", "the fulfillment of the goals of the August 1945 Revolution up to the very limit", have to become the foundation for the transition to the People's Democracy. And since President Sukarno on 21 February, 1957 issued his Presidential Draft, which became famous, the fifth plenary session of the Central Committee soon after that formulated a new slogan: "A change of the balance of power to carry out the Draft of President Sukarno 100 percent! This is a slogan for the completion of our National Coalition Government or our Solidarity Government, a slogan which reflects the ultimate, impartial desire of the mass of the people as long as we do not yet have a People's Democracy. And the above slogan is still in the draft for the struggle to gain political reform, a tactical slogan.

We have already quite an experience in handling tactical slogans. If a slogan has been formulated in a correct way, and if it is used in our struggle after sufficient preparation, such a slogan can really get results. We remember how, soon after the cabinet of Sukrinan had fallen, we formulated the tactical slogan: "Form a cabinet which will release all those arrested in the August raid". This slogan had success. We remember how soon after the fall of the Wilopo cabinet, we formulated the tactical slogan: "Form a cabinet without the Masjumi Moslem Party". This slogan had success. In such a way, facing each political situation, our Party became stronger by using its own slogans. This is what we do in our time to stimulate the Government in coming to definite extermination of the DITII, this is what we do in our time to stimulate the Government in opposing the American Intervention, the subversive Knomintang and the counter-revolution of the PRRI-Permesta [People's Party of Indonesia].

At the time of the attack of this PRRI-Permesta, we launched the slogan "Bipartisanship between Army and People", and after the former Dutch industries, taken over by the labor class, had been handed over to the Government, we launched the slogan: "for patriotic leadership, increasing the production, avoiding corruption and sabotage, a guaranteed democracy and improvement of the fate of the workers." These tactical mottos, one after another, acted as a glowing torch and kept us in the front rows, lighted our way and led us to a progressive situation. And over the last period of time we ourselves formulated a new motto, which guides the struggle of the farming class, a very short motto, but one which, if we use it successfully, will have a definite history, that is the motto: "6:4" [unexplained in source]. And the Central Committee formulated four basic slogans, which are already well known, and which are given to this Congress of ours right now.

The first motto "With the PKI in the front to continue the struggle of the people until Indonesia is completely free and democratic", is aimed at the realization of the leading role of our Party in the struggle for a completely free and democratic Indonesia, and seeks achievement of a strategic goal.

The second motto, "To improve the work of the national front, to concentrate the obstinate forces further" is meant to support the strength of the nation as much as possible in order to gain support of the obstinate group. This slogan has a tactical as well as strategic purpose.

The third motto, "To strengthen the international, anti-colonial front for the settlement of peace", is a medium for the foreign policy of the Party, which implies continuation of the decisions made by the Greater Africa-Asia Conference in Bandung.

Motto No. 4, "To continue the development of the Party through the whole nation, in one close bond with the masses, the consolidation of the enlargement of our ideology, policy and organization" is a slogan with a general line for the development of our Party.

These four mottos have to serve primarily the slogan "For Democracy and a Solidarity Cabinet", which became the most important tactical goal of the Party, but which all of a sudden will bring us down to a strategic goal. In the political struggle slogans cannot be neglected. This is a general rule. What I mean is that slogans are effective indeed. But we ourselves have to remember that effective slogans alone are not sufficient, and that it is at least as important to concentrate all our preparations to carry out a slogan.

What is such a true slogan? A slogan is nothing else than a condensed and clear formulation of a goal or problem, which is tried out at certain times in certain situations. We also used and even use slogans in the Party itself, as e.g. the slogan: "Go down", [term unexplained in source] or the slogan which has been proposed in this Congress, that is: "To know Marxism-Leninism and to be familiar with the situation."

Briefly, in the life of our own Party, even in the national or international political life, slogans are continually necessary and the experience of our Party up to now, in particular between the Fifth National Congress up to this Congress, taught us how we suffered losses because we neglected the use of slogans. On the other hand it showed how much we gained by using the most effective revolutionary slogans in the revolutionary struggle.

Comrades:

The struggle of the revolutionary class up to now is only an aspect of the struggle which includes the interests of the workers, the farmers, the intelligentsia and others, a struggle which possesses political, economic and cultural aspects, a struggle which has national and international aspects.

Therefore the struggle of the revolutionary class has not only continually brought together the workers,

but also the farmers, the intelligentsia and other democratic elements; this has been demonstrated continually by political media like parliamentarism, meetings and mass demonstrations, press and political literature, economic means like striking and boycotting, mutual understanding and cooperation, and by cultural media like music, books, movies, stage plays, science and in other things.

Each aspect is a statement in itself, a phase in itself, but together they gradually come to one center, and this center is the political goal which directs and becomes the goal forever, as formulated in the tactical mottos of the Party.

Do we not all remember that the period of the basic tactical slogan of the Party, "Abolish the Round Table Conference" goes hand in hand with "The abolishment of the Round Table Conference as such"? The workers' movement and the youth movement, the farmers' movement, the women's veterans, students' movement, and the culture, worked all together in that period for the abolishment of the Round Table Conference.

Only thanks to the motives which were taken up in the basic, tactical slogans of the Party could such a sparkling result be obtained. Today we organize our Sixth National Party Congress under the motto: "For Democracy and a Solidarity Cabinet". This means that the activity of the Party in the days, months and years after this Congress has to be organized for the defense of our demands and that these democratic demands have to be brought out to the People. These demands have to be used to form a Solidarity cabinet, as proposed by President Sukarno at the time of the inauguration of the DPA, "Depernas" and "Bapekan" members, half a month ago, because this is the necessary condition for the existence of our Republic.  
Note: DPA, Depernas and Bapekan are abbreviations for parliamentary committees or institutions, of which the exact translation is unknown.

Therefore: "For Democracy and a Solidarity cabinet" has to become the center from which all our conferences in the coming years have to start, to start moving the wheels of the revolutionary struggle in the whole nation. And when we compare the slogan: "Abolish the Round Table Conference" of our former Congresses with the slogan of our present Congress, which is: "For Democracy and a Solidarity Cabinet", then it becomes evident where the distinction lies: formerly the reactionaries of the Masyumi and Socialist Party of Indonesia tried to isolate us, now these isolationists are isolated!

Dear Comrades, Honored Congress.

Thus I present the above Draft Revision of the Program, and I propose to this Congress the approval thereof.

With such a renovated Program, compounded of 10 General Programs, and 50 Work Programs, our Party is armed with a newly sharpened knife, which will simplify the destruction of obstacle after obstacle which may appear, and in doing so will widen the way of the Indonesian People to a true and prosperous society, a society with complete freedom and democracy, in accordance with the aims of the August 1945 revolution and carried out completely.

Up to now, it has been proved that the course of history is actually the Program of the Communist Party of Indonesia. We do not worry in the least that in 5 or 10 years from now, or perhaps later, the People will witness other historic courses, as approved by the PKI Program. This is possible and this will occur, because as Karl Marx stated in "Criticism of the Gothen Program", this program will be prepared over a long, active period." The active period of our people started 14 years ago.

The PKI composes these Programs not only to be published, but to be carried out in actual daily life. And the PKI was not once defeated in the execution of its Program in practice, up to now the PKI leans on the masses, up to now the PKI is faithful to the rules of the masses, up to now the PKI has studied the masses so that it can understand the masses to learn further from the masses. The morning sky already becomes red, a sign that happier days for the Indonesian People will arrive. We ourselves will improve the tools to welcome the arrival of these days, to which we look forward so intently.

Hail the Communist Party and the glorious Indonesian People.